DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 119 910 RC 009 053

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TITLE Changing Perspectives on Rural Development -- with an Analysis of U.S. Involvement in Rural Asia.
PUB DATE 26 May 75
NOTE 56p.; Prepared for presentation to the Conference on Approaches to Rural Development in Asia (Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, May 26, 1975)

EDRS PRICE MF-$0.83 HC-$3.50 Plus Postage
DESCRIPTORS Change Strategies; Definitions; *Developed Nations; *Developing Nations; Futures (of Society); *Interaction Process Analysis; *Rural Development; Social Change; *Social Systems; Theories
IDENTIFIERS *Asia; Reciprocal Interdependence; Rural Renaissance; United States

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this monograph is to examine changing perspectives of rural development in an effort to better understand change in rural social systems via analyzation of interactions between social systems in general and between the U.S. and Asian countries in particular. Initially, an analytic framework is presented which describes intersystem interactions in terms of: (1) Professional Intersystem Interaction (interaction operative at the human, administrative, and political levels and taking place in some kind of inter-system diplomatic milieu); (2) Thrid Culture Enclaves (an international elite operating outside the constraints of recognized social systems); (3) The Superiority Syndrome (paternalism). Presenting a definition of rural development, the second section suggests: (1) use of indicators (comparative measurements) and descriptors (environmental illustrations) in social system analysis; (2) a development cycle for analyzing social systems in terms of their components, the linkages between these components, and the milieu in which they operate; (3) the interaction between rural development stimulation and acquisition systems. Employing the analytic framework, the third section analyzes 6 time periods in the U.S./Asia involvement. The final section suggests social systems adopt the doctrine of interactive reciprocity to facilitate rural renaissance (change born from within). (JC)

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CHANGING PERSPECTIVES ON RURAL DEVELOPMENT

--with an analysis of U.S. involvement in rural Asia*

by George H. Axinn**

RC009053

* Prepared for presentation to the Conference on Approaches to Rural Development in Asia, Asian Centre for Development Administration, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, 26 May 1975.

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Changing Perspectives on Rural Development--With an Analysis of U.S. Involvement in Rural Asia

by George H. Axinn

I. INTRODUCTION

The concern of this seminar is the rural people of Asia--the men, women, and children who till the soil and tend the livestock. Generally, words like Rural Development are meaningless to them--and how they view changes in the quality of their own lives may be similarly unknown to people in the agencies of government and universities of the world who concern themselves with Rural Development.

The purpose of this presentation is to examine changing perspectives of rural development in an effort to better understand change in rural social systems. Beyond that, there is an attempt to analyze interactions between systems in general, and then focus particularly on the interactions of a group of outsiders--technical assistance people from the United States--as they attempted to intervene and assist in efforts at Rural Development in Asia.

Four main sections of this report follow. An analytic framework is presented in the following section relating to inter-system interactions in general. Then, in the second section of this document a framework is presented for analysis of rural development, and for analysis of the

interactions between rural development stimulation systems and the rural societies whose development they are trying to stimulate. Then, in Section III, these two analytic frameworks are applied to the relationship between the United States and many other countries in the world in the attempt to assist with efforts at rural development.

Finally, the last section looks into the future, and to some degree predicts the types of interactions which are likely to be most fruitful in the future, both from the perspective of agencies and organizations within a particular country trying to bring about rural development in that country--and from the perspective of those in one nation/state, or in an international agency or organization, trying to assist a particular country with its efforts in the stimulation of rural development.

II. ANALYTIC FRAMEWORK FOR INTERSYSTEM INTERACTION

Any professional interaction between two groups of human beings tends to have at least five different dimensions. The word "system" is used here to refer to any group of human beings. In one case, the system may be the Ministry of Rural Development in a particular country. In another case the system could be the Agricultural Extension Department of a Ministry of Agriculture. However, a local Farmers' Association or an Agricultural Credit Cooperative is also a system. In this sense you could consider the Asian Centre for Development Administration (ACDA) as a system.

A. Professional Intersystem Interaction

When one system interacts with another system, even if the interaction is designed to be a professional kind of thing--such as a physician

taking care of his patient, a professor lecturing to his students, or an agricultural extension worker trying to demonstrate a new variety to a group of farmers--that professional core of interaction may be viewed as having human, administrative, political, and inter-system or diplomatic dimensions.[1]

A general model of professional inter-system interaction is presented in Figure I. The professional unit in one system, like the professional unit in the other system, is always found within a human setting. The agriculturalist or engineer may have a wife or husband who may become ill, for example, and materially change the interaction.

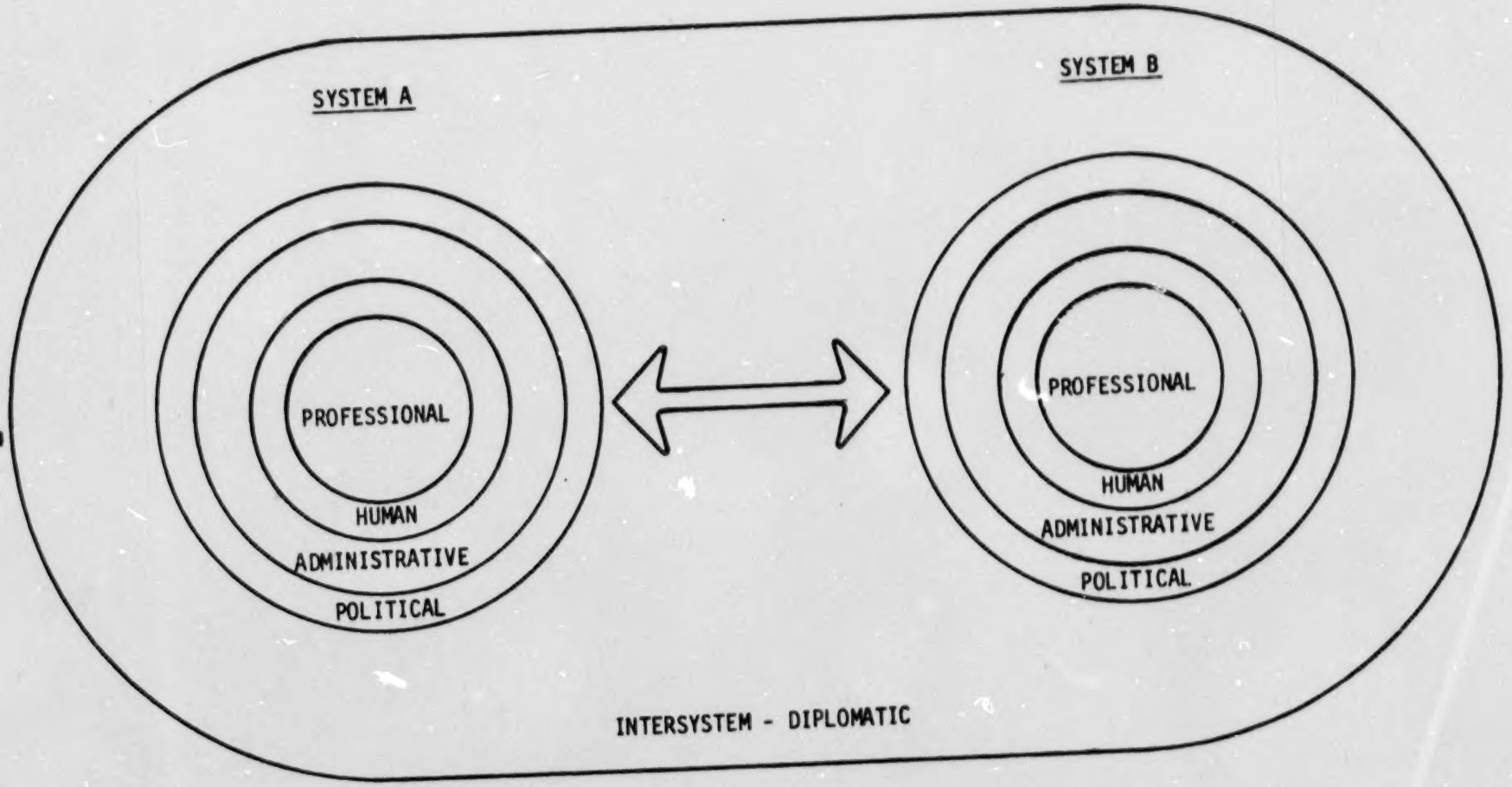
These human beings function in an administrative setting. Like the physicians in a hospital or the professors in a university, those whose specialization is directly related to producing the primary outputs of an organization, or a system of organizations, are usually supported by an administrative group. The administrators are necessary if the professionals are to function efficiently and effectively. The professionals, however, are not "free" to exercise their "professional" judgment without taking into consideration the constrictions that may be applied to the situation by the administrators.

Similarly, both the professional and the administrative personnel (all of them human) operate in a larger socio-economic-political milieu, which exerts political influence upon them. For example, a small technical assistance team of agriculturalists may have to recommend a different kind of fertilizer than their best judgment suggests--because political pressure has been successfully applied to them.

In addition, both system A and system B--sometimes referred to as a change system and a target system--sometimes referred to as a donor system and a recipient system--both of these systems are surrounded by an

FIGURE I

GENERAL MODEL OF PROFESSIONAL INTERSYSTEM INTERACTION



inter-system (or diplomatic) environment that also affects their interactions. For example, the professional members of a technical assistance team may "have to" facilitate the construction of a large building as part of their project because teams from other countries are doing similar things, regardless of the professional merits of such an activity.

Thus, any analysis of a strategy for interaction between system A and system B is inadequate if it takes into consideration only the professional aspects of what is being done. Professionals often claim that their program was appropriate, but it failed because administrators interferred, or the politicians would not let them carry it out as designed.

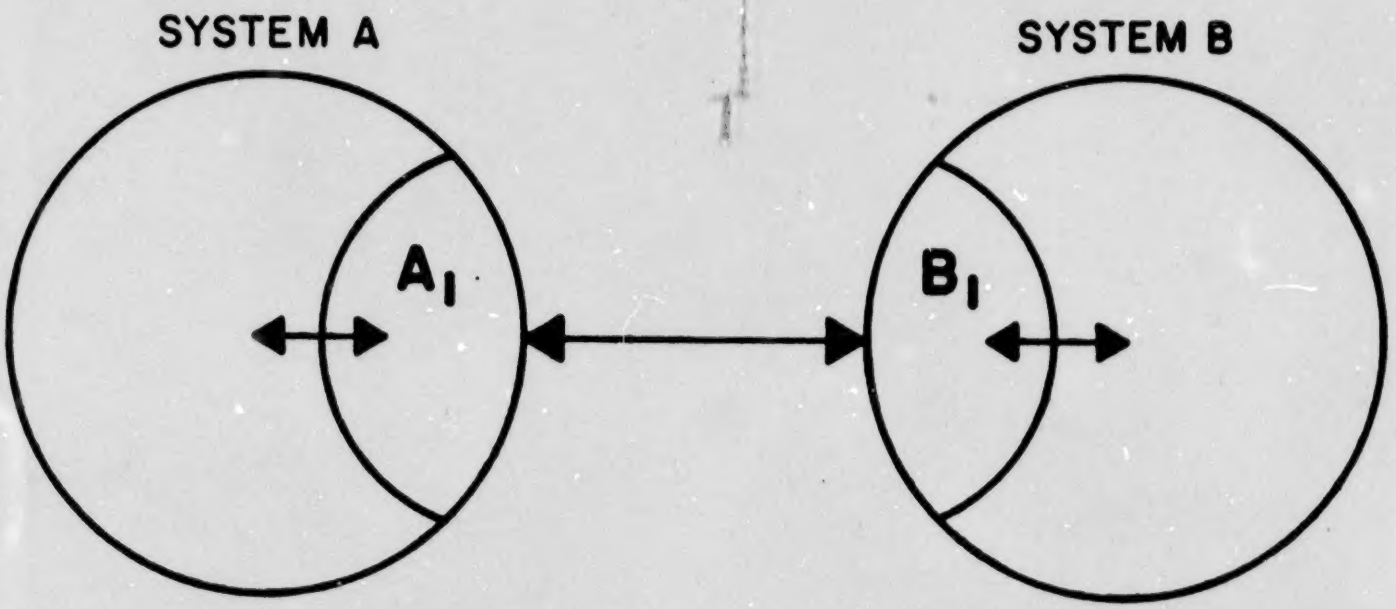
However, it can also be inferred that the ideal design of a professional inter-system interaction takes into account the facts that all professionals are also human; that all professionals also operate with administrative and political constraints, and that all interactions between systems take place in some kind of inter-system diplomatic milieu. Therefore, the ideal strategy would be designed to take all of this into account, to anticipate human, administrative, political, and diplomatic contingencies as well as the professional situation, and to function appropriately within them.

B. Third Culture Enclaves

One aspect of any inter-system interaction is that both systems tend to have within them small enclaves of persons who operate in the "inter-system arena," as illustrated in Figure II. These individuals have been referred to as persons in the "third culture."[2]

If you wish to look at a whole country as one of the two interacting systems--you may recognize that most countries have such an enclave,

FIGURE II
THE THIRD CULTURE ENCLAVE
(A_1 and B_1)



which tends to be a small, elite, internationally-oriented group. They often represent the wealth and the power of their own country, have been educated abroad, and tend to live in surroundings very similar to those of the other outside system.

In the outside system, which is trying to interact with it, there are also people who have lived and worked in the other system. They tend to have traveled extensively, and may interact as much or more abroad as they do at home.

Any such pattern of human interactions suggests that while persons of the third culture, from each of any two societies so involved with each other, may share certain values, be interested in and able to communicate with each other, and develop increasing understanding of each other as time goes by--each will tend to have less and less understanding of the system he represents as the process continues.

Thus, those members of the international elite enclave in many countries of the world have little understanding of "what life is really like," in the more rural and remote parts of their own country. Conversely, those persons of the third culture in an outside system which is trying to interact with such a country are likely to find themselves reflecting their own society as it was some years ago, rather than as it is now, and being so little understood at home that their sources of funds are continually in jeopardy.

Thus, rather than looking at interaction between one system (A) and another system (B), it is probably more appropriate to consider interaction between a component of system A and a component of system B, which are labeled A_1 and B_1. These two inter-system enclaves usually supply the membership for groups which travel to the other system, and tend to contain the personnel who carry on transactions with the other system. In

addition, there is also need for interaction between the enclave and the larger social system in both cases. Thus if A_1 interacts simultaneously with A and with B_1; and if B_1 has similar interactions with B and with A_1; then the possibility that those who interact between systems can carry on the appropriate transactions is increased.

C. The Superiority Syndrome

One of the difficulties in the attempt to interact between systems might be labeled the Superiority Syndrome.[3] It tends to happen whenever one group of individuals attempts to help their fellows and to do the "right thing" for mankind. This set of phenomena comes from the tendency of those who leave their own system and go to another--particularly if they are going to "assist" the others--to feel superior to, and to look down upon, those in the other system. As a result, there is a tendency for these individuals to pay less attention to the feelings and the opinions of personnel of the other system, and to be increasingly misguided by their own preconceptions.

The syndrome usually develops among personnel of any foreign mission in any host country. They tend to forget all of the negative aspects of their home situations; they tend to see and magnify all the negative aspects of the local situation. This is accentuated by their ignorance of and failure to understand the local situation. It is almost inescapable that an "up-down" form of interaction results. From the perspective of the receivers of any kind of "foreign assistance," the superiority syndrome spawns resentment and suspicion. In many ways the difference between the "haves" and the "have nots" within any one society is similar to the differences among societies. Referring to Figure II, B_1 feels and acts superior to the remainder of system B, just as A_1 may feel and act superior

to B_1. These relationships breed resentment, and the "haves" tend to blame the "have nots" for their own plight and the "have nots" blame the "haves" for their plight both within and between nations. In analyzing any interaction between two systems, one can then look for the extent to which each perceives the interaction as "up-down" or "down-up." This has to do with which system might exercise influence over the other, dominate the other, have power over the other, or control the other. If the two interact as equals--it could be termed as a "level" interaction. Otherwise, it is either "up-down" or "down-up."

III. ANALYTIC FRAMEWORK FOR RURAL DEVELOPMENT

In this section, rural development is defined, and indicators and descriptors of it are offered. Then a development cycle will be postulated and a method of analyzing rural social systems in terms of their components, the linkages between these components, and the milieu in which they operate will be analyzed. Finally, a perspective for looking at rural development stimulation systems and their interaction with rural development acquisition systems will be presented.

A. Indicators and Descriptors

A major weakness in the traditional approaches to rural development has been the lack of rigorous, usable definitions. Such synonyms as modernization, industrialization, and urbanization, cloud the scene. Economic and level-of-living indicators tend to reflect the values of the external developer, and show the "less developed" societies continuously falling further behind the "more developed."

In an attempt to overcome this problem, it is suggested that rural

social systems be analyzed in two different ways. One of these constitutes the development of indicators of level at which various functions are carried out; the other relates to descriptors of certain phenomena in the rural social system.

Following this approach, certain functions, like the production of food, the delivery of health care, the provision of education, and the marketing of what is produced can be indicated and measured. If one social system is using twice as much irrigation water in their rice paddies as another, that can be measured. If, in turn, they produce more rice per year, that can also be measured. Such phenomena as the difference in religion between the two groups, might be described. Thus, the suggestion is made that certain aspects of a rural social system be analyzed through indicators and others be analyzed through descriptors. The indicators will involve measurement and comparison with other rural social systems--as well as comparison with the same system over time. The descriptors will tend to illustrate the setting and the environment in which the indicators operate--but the things described will not be compared with others in different systems, or used as measures of change over time.

However, certain phenomena may be examined as aspects of both indicators and descriptors. For example, both those things which are indicated and those things which are described consume energy. Over time, relative amounts of energy devoted to each might be compared. Further, individuals use their time differently according to differences in religion and culture and other aspects of the rural social system, which may be described. Thus an analysis of time use would include both the phenomena being described and the phenomena being measured with indicators.

B. Development Cycle

An alternative to the traditional ways of assessing rural development using the criteria of outsiders is to envision a development cycle.

Assuming that it is possible for humanity to come into some sort of equilibrium state with its environment, then it is conceivable that:

1. Human groups which are under-utilizing the resources of of their eco-system in enhancing their own levels and styles of living may be considered to be underdeveloped.

2. Human groups which are over-utilizing the resources of their eco-system in enhancing their own levels and styles of living may be considered to be over-developed; and,

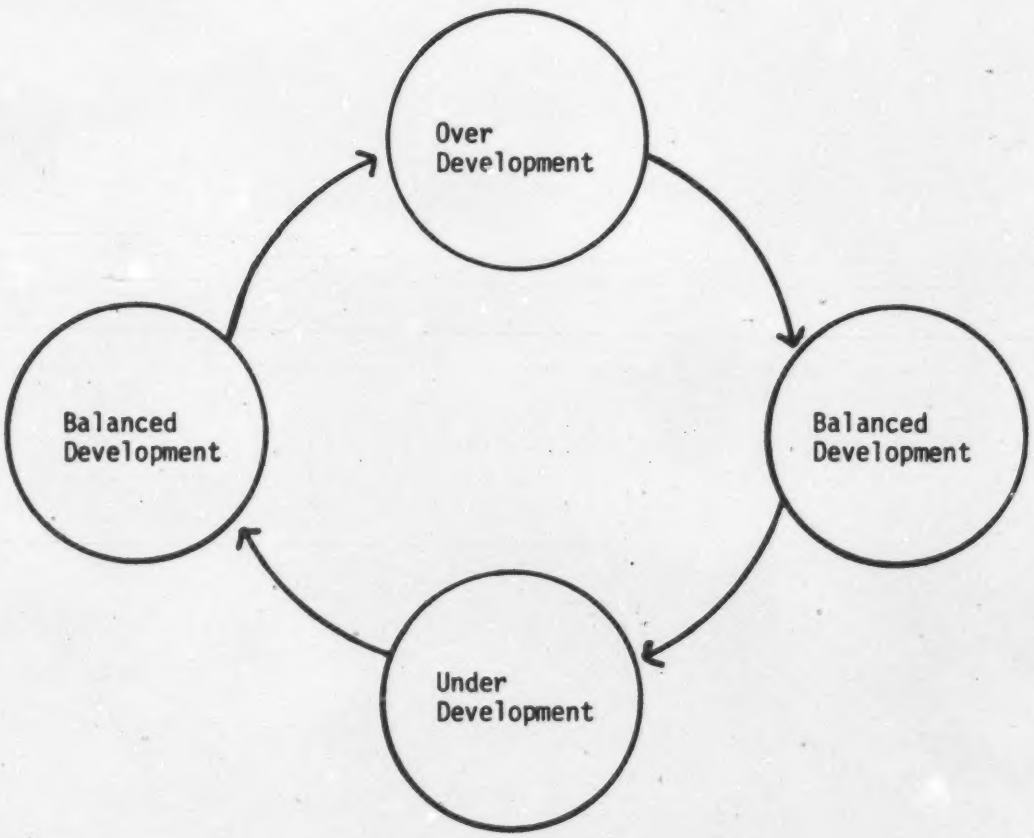
3. Human groups which are in equilibrium with the resources of their eco-system with respect to their own levels and styles of living, may be considered to be appropriately developed. See Figure III, The Development Cycle.

Viewed from a time perspective, each human group may move through cycles of under-development, balanced-development, over-development, balanced-development, under-development, etc. This phenomenon may be labeled, "The Development Cycle." The rate of change varies from group to group, with some apparently static, and others moving quite rapidly. A given group may also go through periods of rapid change, periods of very gradual change, and periods when change may not be apparent at all.

One way to assess the relative balance of a particular human group with its environment is in terms of its utilization of energy (petroleum, electricity, sun, light and heat, wood, etc.). That is, if a group is utilizing relatively little energy per capita in enhancing its own level

FIGURE III

THE DEVELOPMENT CYCLE



and style of living, then it may be considered to be under-developed. If a group is using relatively high amounts of energy in enhancing its own levels and styles of living, it may be considered to be over-developed--particularly if its eco-system cannot sustain the high levels of energy use over time. And if a group has balanced its utilization of energy with its level and style of life, it may be considered to be appropriately developed.

As Fred Cottrell put it twenty years ago in his book, Energy and Society,[4] "The thesis is that the amounts and types of energy employed condition man's way of life materially, and set somewhat predictable limits on what he can do and on how society will be organized."

Development might also be measured in terms of time use. There seems to be a tendency for social systems which are typically classified as "less developed" to be characterized by persons who have more time for leisure, play, or at least time over which they feel a sense of control. Conversely, those social systems which are typically referred to as "over developed" tend to contain individuals who have less time which can be utilized for leisure, play, or at least, be controlled by that individual.

Development can also be measured in terms of the specialization of human performance of functions. Given that these several functions (defined below), are performed in every rural social system, a progression may move from systems where one individual performs all functions for himself--to a stage where members of a family specialize in specific functions--to a stage where different families might draw major sustenance from fewer functions, increasing their dependency on other families for other functions.

The possibility that human groups may over-specialize as they become over-developed, and then broaden functions to less specialization, is consistent with the concept of a development cycle.

The opportunity costs of specialization, from an economic perspective, include deprivation from wholistic involvement with essential components of life. The over-specialized worker on a "modern" production line may long to own his own tools and make a "whole car."

There is a tendency for those rural social systems which are using relatively little energy (in relation to what the eco-system can provide) to also tend to be unspecialized with respect to the eight functions listed below. At the opposite side of the development cycle, those systems which are using highest amounts of energy also tend to have highest degrees of specialization.

And, the intermediate position of balance in energy use vis-à-vis the environment seems to be accompanied by a balance in level of specialization.

As a particular social system moves from low energy use and low specialization (under-development) toward an optimum energy use and level of specialization, there is a tendency for it to exhibit three general characteristics: (1) it tends to have a high efficiency of energy conversion; (2) it tends to have a high level of transactions with outside systems, and (3) it tends to have a relatively high efficiency of internal transactions among its functional components.

As a typical system moves from an optimum stage toward high or excess use of energy and high or excess state of specialization among the functional components, the transition tends to be accompanied by (1) low efficiency of

energy conversion; (2) lower numbers of transactions with outside systems; and, (3) a lower efficiency of internal transactions among the functional components. (See Figure IV.)

As a system moves from high energy use and high specialization toward a more balanced or optimum situation, that transition tends to be accompanied by (1) high rates of efficiency of energy conversion; (2) high rates of transactions with outside systems; and (3) high rates of efficiency of internal transactions.

And finally, as a rural social system tends to move from balanced use of energy and balanced levels of specialization toward low use of energy, and lowest levels of specialization, it is again accompanied by (1) low rates of efficiency of energy conversion, (2) low rates of transactions with outside systems, and (3) low levels of efficiency of internal transactions.

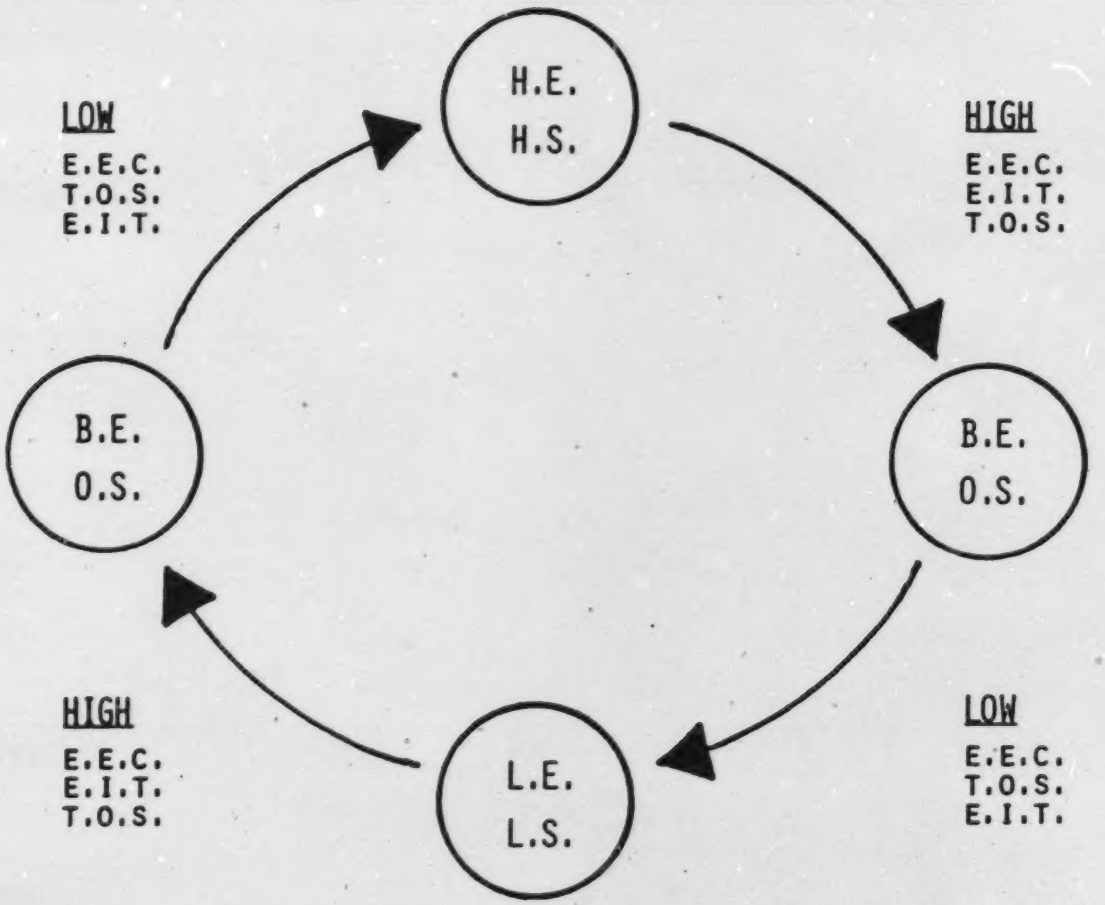
Viewing the development cycle in this perspective provides a conceptual framework by means of which rural social systems in various parts of the world and various points in time can be analyzed and compared, and direction and speed of change can also be examined comparatively.

The approach to change in rural social systems through change in energy use and extent of specialization does not ignore the conventional concerns about development. Rather, it encompasses the conventional indicators of development but does so in a more explicit and measurable fashion than is normally done.

An essential difference relates to the normal conception of the development process as being linear--going from less developed to more developed. Taking this basic linear conception, Esman and Uphoff[5] concern

FIGURE IV

CHANGE IN RURAL SOCIAL SYSTEMS



H.E. = HIGH ENERGY USE
L.E. = LOW ENERGY USE
B.E. = BALANCED ENERGY USE
H.S. = HIGH SPECIALIZATION
L.S. = LOW SPECIALIZATION
O.S. = OPTIMUM SPECIALIZATION

E.E.C. = EFFICIENCY OF ENERGY CONVERSION
T.O.S. = TRANSACTIONS W/OUTSIDE SYSTEMS
E.I.T. = EFFICIENCY OF INTERNAL TRANSACTIONS

= A RURAL SOCIAL SYSTEM

themselves with three major indicators: (1) agricultural productivity, (2) rural incomes, (3) rural welfare--which includes health, nutrition, education, employment, security, and equity, or income distribution.

Along a similar vein, and also conceiving of development as linear, Inayatullah[6] uses six indicators of rural development. They are: (1) rural productivity, (2) employment, under-employment, etc. (3) distribution of wealth, (4) power structure--rural vs. urban, (5) mobility and local class structures--status and power, and, (6) values, beliefs, and attitudes with respect to control of the environment.

Utilization of the transactional analysis, the specialization analysis, and the energy/eco-system analysis suggested on the basis of the eight functional component model (below) would take into account all of the concerns with productivity and equity--and go considerably beyond.

C. Rural Social Systems

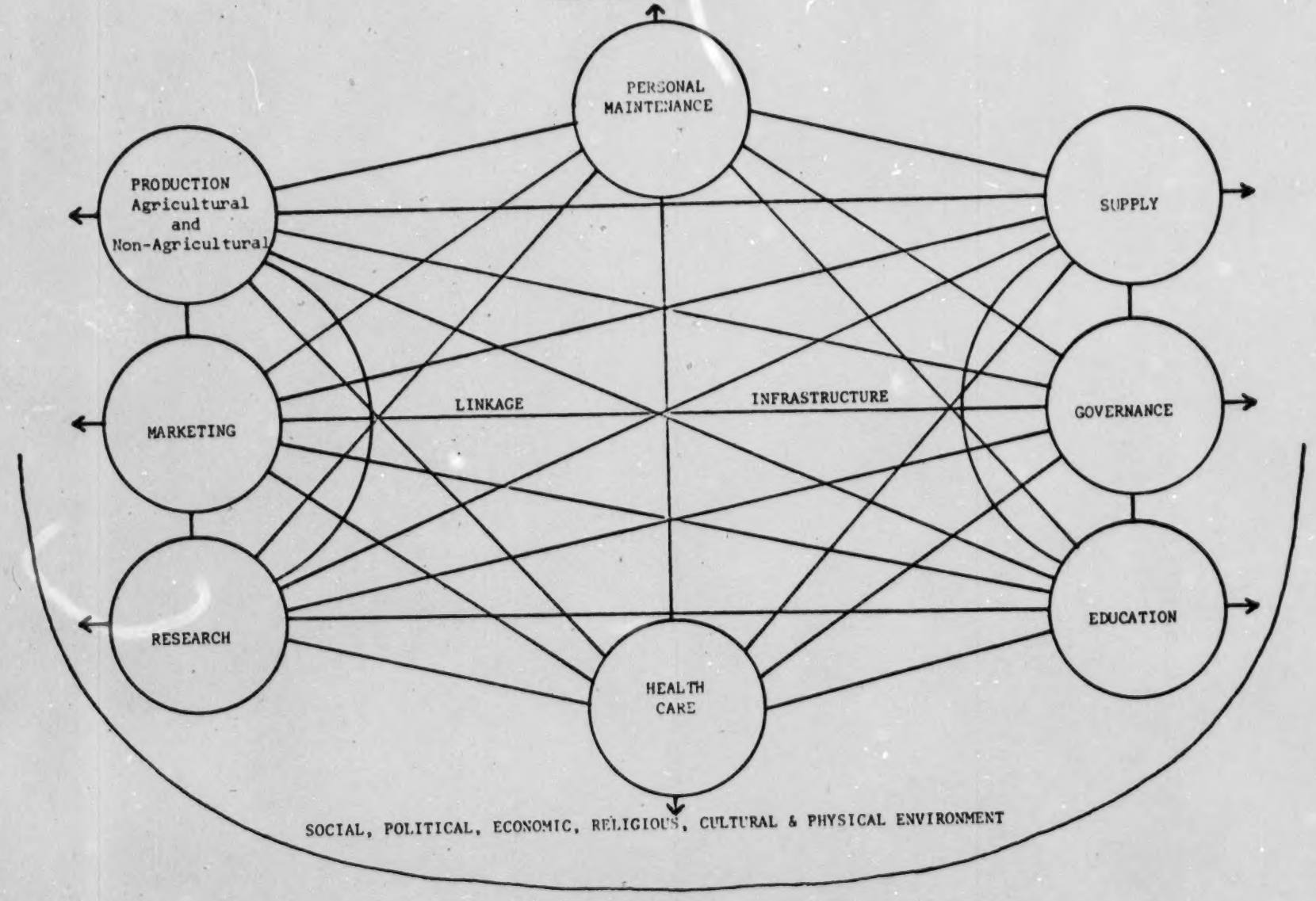
Human groups which live in rural places, and which tend to be small groups in relative isolation from each other and from larger groups, may be labeled as rural social systems. These systems (see Loomis)[7] may be described and analyzed according to their functional components, as in Figure V. A typical rural social system is characterized here as having eight functional components, related to each other through a linkage infrastructure, and all set into a social, political, economic, religious, cultural and physical environment.[8]

The production component may be subdivided into agricultural production and other production. Agricultural production involves land, labor, capital, technology, etc.; and other production involves manufacturing, agro-industries, including labor, capital, technology, etc. Then there is a supply side for

FIGURE V

THE RURAL SOCIAL SYSTEM IN ITS ENVIRONMENT

Functional Components



both of these production components. The supply function, for agricultural production, includes seed, feed, fertilizer, credit, and other inputs. The marketing function includes transportation, storage, processing, retailing, etc.

The governance function has to do with the regulation of life, and includes administration, revenue, law and order, etc. The education function involves both formal and non-formal instruction of various individuals by others, and also the informal education which is not contrived, but through which people learn most of what they have to know.

The research function, like education, includes formal, non-formal and informal aspects. It includes the activities through which people learn how to solve problems and develop new information.

The health care function has to do with the various ways in which the social system prevents injury and disease, and attempts to cure these maladies when they arise.

The personal maintenance component is a function of every human group, and includes such activities as cleaning, grooming, and clothing the body, rest and recreation, and a variety of other sub-functions in which each individual must invest time and energy each day.

Each of these eight functional components is related to the others through an infrastructure of linkages which includes roads, waterways, (including drainage, irrigation, and potable water) communication, power systems, etc. Further, these functions, and the linkage infrastructure which connects them and relates them to the outside world, are always in a social/political/economic/cultural/religious/physical context, which sets the pace and the style of all of the actions of the separate components and the interactions between them.

Like any other system, a change in any one component, or in any linkage affects all of the other components and linkages. Resistance to change in any one component or linkage is a constraint on change for any other component.

In assessing change in rural social systems using this model, cost/benefit ratios can be calculated for each of the functional components. Levels and directions of transactions among the components are also measured. This provides indicators of the extent and efficiency of such functions as production, marketing, supply, education, health care, etc. Further, the linkage analysis provides opportunity for study of equity in the distribution of benefits as well as costs.

Linkages are defined as clusters of channels by means of which one component may interact with other components of the same or other systems.

Each channel is a means by which transactions may flow between two or more components of a system, or between a component and component(s) of other systems. Examples of channels include roads, waterways, electric transmission lines, radio, telephone, newspapers, group meetings, individual conversations, and many other means.

The linkage between any two components of a system may be described in terms of:

1. The types of channels available.
2. The numbers of channels available.
3. The capacity of each channel.
4. The actual rate of flow of transactions on each channel--the frequency.
5. The fidelity of each channel.

6. The direction of flow of transactions on each channel.

7. The power relationships of the components on either end of the linkage.

Capacity refers to the quantity of goods or information which a channel can carry within measured amounts of time.

Frequency refers to the extent of actual use of the capacity of a channel.

Fidelity refers to the qualitative change which occurs during transactions from one component to another. A channel with high fidelity is more likely to deliver goods or information from one component to another unchanged in character than a channel with low fidelity.

Power refers to authority or influence which gives one component control over another component or one system control over another system.

Of course, the components and linkages described here always exist in a larger social, political, economic, religious, cultural and physical environment. These set the pace, tone, and style of everything that happens.

D. Rural Development Stimulation Systems in Action

Turning to the view of the rural social system in its larger setting--it is possible to distinguish five major components of the larger system. These could be described as follows:

(a) The rural social system--including individuals, families and clusters of families. Typically, these are called rural villages.

(b) Rural development acquisition systems--described elsewhere, these are organizations of the people in the rural social

system, ideally controlled by the people in the rural social system, and designed to help them acquire what they need from and interact with the larger social system outside.

(c) Rural development stimulation systems--described elsewhere, these are organizations of the outside world, designed to stimulate change and to interact with the rural social system.

(d) Agencies and organizations of the larger social system--these include district, state, and national levels, and may be categorized as government units, public corporations, private firms, educational units, and health units. A strictly functional description can be made in terms of the functional category within the rural social system. Or, various functions can be grouped as public, private, or quasi-public.

(e) Agencies and organizations of the inter-system--these are the international agencies and organizations which interact with the agencies and organizations of the social system being studied.

With respect to linkages, ten major linkages may be identified by means of which each of the five components above interacts with each of the other components. However, four of those linkages are most crucial in the process of change in rural social systems. These are the linkage

between (a) and (b), the rural social system and the rural development acquisition system; the linkage between (b) and (c), the rural development acquisition system and the rural development stimulation system; the linkage between (c) and (d), the rural development stimulation system and the agencies and organizations of the larger social system; and the linkage between (d) and (e), the agencies and organizations of the larger social system and the agencies and organizations of the international inter-system. (See Figure VI.)

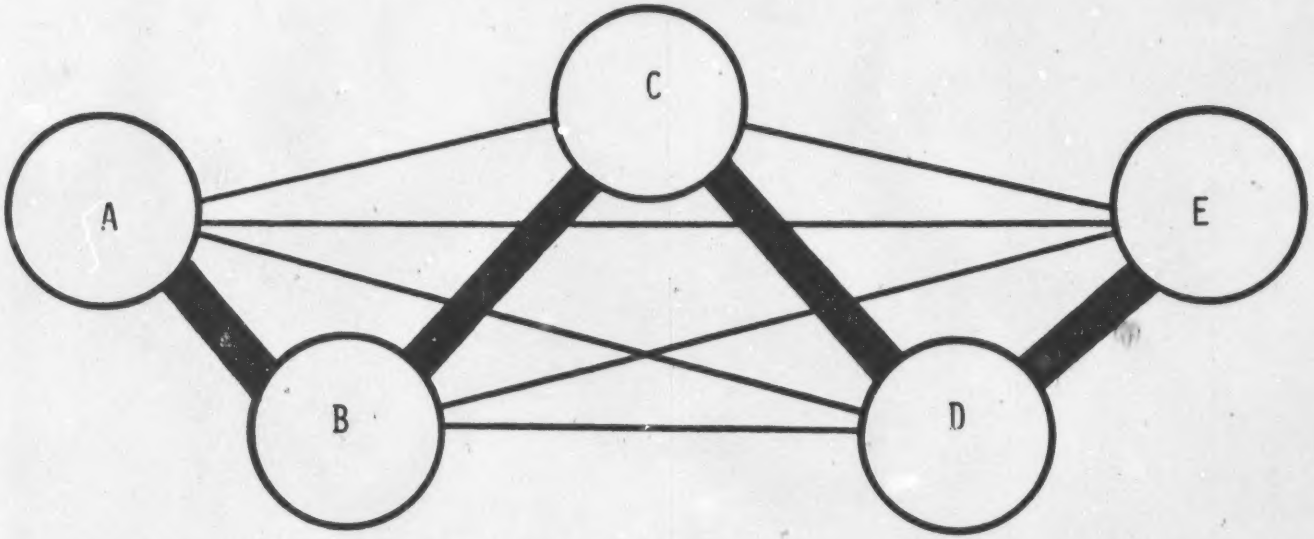
IV. THE SIX AGES OF U.S. INVOLVEMENT IN RURAL ASIA

Now if we turn from these general perspectives of both inter-system interactions and of rural development and change in rural social systems to some specific cases, we may be able to test the utility of the analytic framework. The organizers of this conference asked that this paper address an analysis of the U.S. involvement in rural development work in Asia. In attempting to do this, six different periods in time have been identified. The time before the 1940's is the longest period of time, perhaps, but is referred to here as the Early Exchange Period.

Then, the decade of the 1940's is referred to as the Reconstruction Period. The 1950's has been labeled the Point Four Period; the 1960's is called the Institution Building Period; the 1970's is labeled the Integrated

FIGURE VI

CRITICAL LINKAGES IN THE LARGER SOCIAL SYSTEM
AFFECTING CHANGE IN RURAL SOCIAL SYSTEMS



A = RURAL SOCIAL SYSTEM

B = RURAL DEVELOPMENT ACQUISITION SYSTEM

C = RURAL DEVELOPMENT STIMULATION SYSTEM

D = AGENCIES AND ORGANIZATIONS OF LARGER SOCIAL SYSTEM

E = AGENCIES AND ORGANIZATIONS OF INTERNATIONAL INTERSYSTEM

Approach, and the 1980's is called Linkage Maintenance. Thus an attempt will be made to look at the assumptions of each period, the doctrine of each period, and the kind of program strategies which were employed in each period by the United States of America as a system in its efforts to interact with various other countries in some kind of partnership designed to enhance rural development.

A. Early Exchange--the 1940's

The United States of America has traditionally been a very provincial country. Thus, this early exchange age is characterized by an extremely low level of interaction between the U.S.A. and various countries of Asia. Nevertheless, there have been many exchanges over the years. I believe there tended to be an up-down assumption on the part of the Americans who participated. They tended to work as individual persons--often sent as missionaries rather than government officers, and their doctrine assumed the same relationship between urban centers and the rural hinterland as they had experienced in the U.S.A.

Program strategies were basically individual and non-formal. Although individuals did a great variety of things, they also tried to assist in the strengthening of institutions. The College of Agriculture and Forestry at the University of Nanking in China is a good example. The College was established in 1913 with a man named Joseph Bailie in charge. He then brought John H. Reissner in October of 1914, who was a Yale graduate with a B.S. in Forestry and Master's Degree in Agriculture from Cornell. Reissner was appointed as the Dean of this College in 1916. Reissner, in turn, found John Lawsing Buck who had gone to China in 1915

as a missionary. Four years later he was brought by Reissner to the University of Nanking to develop a Department of Agricultural Economics and Extension at that university.

Thus, partly as individuals, and partly working through institutional bases, these Americans pursued rural development goals long before the United States Government got into that kind of activity in Asia.

B. Reconstruction Period

During the 1940's, the U.S. government had been directly involved in several parts of Latin America conducting agricultural research and trying to stimulate agricultural productivity. There was an organization called the I.I.A.A. in the Department of Agriculture particularly focused on Latin America, and the Office of Foreign Agricultural Relations had a broader worldwide focus. This included the decade of European reconstruction after World War II, and intensive activity in Japan. The Institute of Inter-American Affairs seemed to make the general assumptions of this period. That is, the U.S. had certain "know-how" and, in up-down fashion the essential task was to transfer this know-how to persons in Latin America who could use it. Similar assumptions were reflected in Asia, but there was much less activity in Asia.

Basically, the doctrine stressed economic transfers. The assumption was made that technical assistance in production was important and the strengthening of the industrial base of any country would be the quickest way to help it "modernize." In terms of the rural development model described in the previous section, it was assumed that if there were significant transfers of technology they would result in increased efficiency

in the production component--and somehow everything else in the system would adjust as needed. Other components were either not considered at all, or not considered to be constraints on changes in the production component.

However, during this reconstruction period the major focus of U.S. attention was in Europe, and there the main thrust was to build back the industrial base through transfers of money and some little technical assistance to go with it.

C. The Point Four Age

The 1950's can be characterized as a period of rapidly increasing international activity by the Americans--worldwide and particularly in Asia.

The beginning of this age has been characterized as the "Genesis" by John M. Richardson, Jr. in his book Partners in Development.[9]

This was the age in which the U.S. went from its Technical Cooperation Administration (TCA) and Economic Cooperation Administration (ECA) and its Mutual Security Administration (MSA) to a combination of these and others into the Foreign Operations Administration (the FOA).

President Truman had, in his inaugural address late in 1948, suggested in his fourth point that Americans should try to do throughout the world what they had been doing in the past decade in Europe--and share "U.S. know-how" and capital with the so-called "under-developed world." Here again, there was a decided "up-down" approach to knowledge, although the words technical cooperation were used rather than technical assistance. In October of 1950 the U.S. State Department announced the establishment of the Technical Cooperation Administration.

The purpose of this, as set forth by the Secretary of State in November of 1950 included, "With our technical assistance, the resolve of the free peoples of Latin America, Asia, and Africa and the Middle East to better the conditions of their lives can become a powerful drive against the age-old banes of poverty and disease and the political instability which often accompanies them. Men everywhere have awakened to the opportunities for progress which modern science and technology have opened. We can help them to help themselves, and it is in our interest to do so.

"Our technical assistance is not philanthrophy, for here our principles and our self-interest coincide. As the people of under-developed areas rise from poverty, not only will our own economy benefit, but also an even more important real promise of freedom will expose the false promises of (others), and the peoples of these countries will grow in the recognition of the common interest and purpose of the free nations."[10]

As Dr. E. B. Rice put it in his evaluation of official U.S. assistance to agricultural extension services in Central and South America, "In the 1940's and the early 1950's, when the U.S. overseas extension programs were gathering momentum, it was clear to the architects of these programs that (1) farmers in the developing countries would not resist if approached in the right way, (2) there was a large amount of useful information that was not being put to practice, (3) no other organizations were performing the function, and (4) most of the farmers were without political power or a representation in government that could look out for their interests"[11]

The Americans assumed that they knew how, and their doctrine was one of transfer of not only their knowledge but sufficient money to go with

it so that others could "become more like them." The Mutual Security Act of 1954 was amended in 1955, and started out with a title on mutual defense assistance. This was followed by a title on developmental assistance, and then the third title was technical cooperation. Economic development came ahead of technical cooperation--in the amount of money, and in priority in the eyes of the U.S. Congress and the administration. The purpose of the technical cooperation was set forth as follows: "It is the policy of the United States and the purpose of this title to aid the efforts of the peoples of economically under-developed areas to develop their resources and improve their working and living conditions by encouraging the exchange of technical knowledge and skills and the flow of investment capital to countries which provide conditions under which such technical assistance and capital can effectively and constructively contribute to raising standards of living, creating new sources of wealth, increasing productivity, and expanding purchasing power."[12]

The President of the United States, in his message to the Congress of January 10, 1955, said, "The United States has a vast store of practical and scientific know-how that is needed in the underdeveloped areas of the world. The United States has a responsibility to make it available. Its flow for peaceful purposes must remain unfettered."

Rural development programs featured basically a strategy of technical assistance . Many American agricultural extension officers went to India, and to other Asian countries. There was some community development work, and some work in strengthening organizations--such as the collaboration in Taiwan through the Joint Commission for Rural Reconstruction and collaboration in Pakistan in the Village AID Program. As it was put in the mid-50's

by the Foreign Operations Administration, "In carrying out technical cooperation programs FOA draws on the specialized knowledge, skills, and experience of American universities, industry, and voluntary agencies as well as federal and state agencies. It sends specialists abroad who help train local technicians, and it brings individuals from cooperating countries to the United States for advanced study or observation of techniques." [13]

The FOA basic strategy included: "In addition to benefitting people immediately concerned, these programs have four major objectives:

1. To show what can be done by local people using available resources and better techniques.

2. To train local technicians who will then be able to pass their knowledge along to others--to set up a chain reaction for progress.

3. To contribute to the economic development of the whole country.

4. To help in the establishment of nation-wide government agencies that will have the resources--people, know-how, organization, funds and acceptance--to carry on their service activities without outside assistance."[14]

Throughout its history, the Americans have tended to look upon their international assistance agencies as temporary units--helping fellows in other countries to get started--so that they could then do it for themselves.

The heavy dependence on U.S. personnel working in rural development throughout the world reached its peak at the end of the Point Four Age and at the beginning of the Institution Building Age of the 1960's. Data from Dr. Rice's study[15] mentioned above shows numbers of technicians in man/years increasing gradually through the 40's, increasing very sharply from 1950 to 1955 and then more gradually from 1955 to 1957 when it begins to go down gradually through 1962--and then falling off sharply to 1965 and to a much lower level after that.

D. The Age of Institution Building

In the 1960's, the Americans turned their attention somewhat away from direct provision of technical assistance--based on their assumption of U.S. "know-how"--and began program strategies designed to build or reconstruct organizations and institutions which, in turn, might further rural development.

The assumptions of this age were stated in a report from the National Association of State Universities and Land-Grant Colleges. They stated... "Experience has demonstrated that:

(1) The full development of a country requires a multiplicity of institutions--political, economic, and social.

(2) Human resource development is the most critical need throughout the world.

(3) An ample food supply is essential to stability in economic and political development.

(4) The most effective and enduring contribution to human resource development is through the building of indigenous educational institutions which enable a nation to help itself by educating its own people to enter and sustain themselves in the modern world.

(5) The building of enduring institutions is a long-term proposition, and is fundamental to success of our developmental assistance policies."[16]

The report also pointed out that "the myth that America had the 'know-how' to solve all of the world's problems mislead us. The assumption that we had unlimited resources, human and material, that could be widely scattered, built false hopes that could not be realized. Too often, the formulation of our foreign aid and technical assistance measures were a hasty response to cold war competition for host-country favor. Failures resulting from faulty objectives and programs produced disappointments, frustrations, and antagonisms both at home and abroad."

This was an age of increasing doubt among the Americans and their collaborators in the Asian countries of the effectiveness of the transfer of either capital or "know-how." More attention was paid to the components of the system--there was much discussion about aid to industry versus aid to agriculture--increasing skepticism arose about the priority on economic development in total, and particularly in urban industrial development.

But the program strategies focused on the institutions. In the middle end of the 1960's, the U.S. Agency for International Development contracted with a group of universities to produce a study entitled "Building Institutions

to Serve Agriculture." In an effort to make a general assessment of impact, this group reported that "If success is measured in terms of maturity and the demonstrated ability of an institution to make meaningful contributions to the social and economic development of the country, some outstanding examples of success have been developed cooperatively by U.S. universities, the Agency for International Development, and host institutions. These are found in different regions of the world, and indicate what can be accomplished if the proper combination of variables is brought to bear on programs of institutional development." This report referred to U.S. technical assistance primarily in relation to institutions training professional agriculturalists to work with the production components of Rural Development. It included a band of Asian agricultural colleges and universities stretching from Turkey and Iran through India and Pakistan to Thailand and Indonesia, Taiwan and Korea, and including the Philippines.

"The single greatest indicator of approaching maturity," said this report, "is the role these institutions are playing in the increased agricultural production that has developed in some of the less-developed countries in the last two years. Already they have increased the supply of capable graduates to perform needed research, and help develop better educational programs with rural people. These things, often done in cooperation with other institutions, have helped make possible significant increases in food supplies from the developing nations."[17]

But as the age of institution building drew toward its end, Americans increasingly challenged the idea of their own "know-how." They doubted whether those things which the Americans knew were really appropriate for others. They also challenged their institutional models, which they had

attempted to organize and institutionalize in other countries. The National Planning Association, in a report in March of 1969, pointed out that "Americans, due to the values and norms of behavior of their own dynamic and achievement-oriented society, were eager to play so active and directive a role. The result during the 1950's and early 1960's was a foreign-aid relationship in which Americans, serving in both governmental and private capacities, took the lead in promoting and organizing a host of initiatives..." "...there are today increasing numbers of people in the governments and leadership groups of even the remotest and least developed countries who are aware that it is possible for them to accelerate and guide the processes of economic growth and socio-cultural change."[18]

E. The Integrated Approach of the 1970's

In the late 1960's and the early 1970's, there was a proliferation of studies relating to U.S. efforts at international assistance. The President of the United States had a special task force on international development which issued its report on 4 March 1970. It was entitled "U.S. Foreign Assistance in the 1970's: A New Approach." In addition to the report on international development assistance which the universities had done (referred to above) and the report of the President's Task Force, known as the Perkins Report, there was a World Bank report entitled, "Partners in Development," known as the Pearson Report, (prepared by a commission headed by former Canadian Prime Minister Lester B. Pearson) a Rockefeller Report on the Americas, and the Jackson Report, studying the capacity of the United Nations Development System.

The assumptions of the Americans were changing--they leaned more in the direction of genuine partnership with their overseas colleagues--not only in carrying out the programs--but in deciding what programs ought to be carried out. In terms of our analytic framework, it was neither "up-down" nor "down-up." Similarly, they began to recognize the inter-relationship among the components of rural social systems--and turned more to provision of inputs and marketing outputs of production--rather than focusing only on production. Concern with the interrelations between health care delivery, population, nutrition, and agriculture increased.

Throughout the sixties, however, as in the fifties, the U.S. Congress and the Administration had connected the need to be involved with technical assistance overseas with the military defense of the country. President Kennedy, in addressing the U.N. General Assembly on 20 September 1963 said, "Let us see if we, in our own time, can move the world to a just and lasting peace." The goal was peace, rather than rural development or economic development in general. However, he spoke more as an internationalist and less as an American than many of his predecessors. He said, for example, "More can be done--a world center for health communications under the World Health Organization could warn of epidemics and the adverse effects of certain drugs, as well as transmit the results of new experiments and new discoveries."

"--Regional research centers could advance our common medical knowledge and train new scientists and doctors for new nations."

"--A global system of satellites could provide communication and weather information for all corners of the earth."

"--A worldwide program of conservation could protect the forests and wild game preserves not in danger of extinction for all time, improve the marine harvest of food from our oceans, and prevent the contamination of air and water by industrial as well as nuclear pollution."

"--And finally, a worldwide program of farm productivity and food distribution, similar to our country's food for peace program could now give every child the food he needs."[19]

By the 1970's the U.S. was changing its emphasis. In the Secretary of State's report on Economic Development Assistance, at the beginning of the 1970's the first priority was for increased emphasis on multi-lateral aid programs and a greater coordination of U.S. aid efforts with that of other countries. It went on to state that, "We are giving more emphasis to applying U.S. knowledge to the problems of development through technical assistance, research, and social innovations... we are placing the highest priority on agricultural production and family planning."[20]

In 1972, the United States reorganized its Agency for International Development and summarized the reorganization plan as follows: The Agency for International Development is undertaking comprehensive self-reorganization designed to:

-- Emphasize the humanitarian and economic aspects of U.S. development assistance;
-- Adjust traditional techniques and policies to change to development needs and resources for the world's poorer countries;
-- Coordinate more effectively U.S. development assistance within multi-lateral and consortia channels;
-- Further emphasize the participation of private organizations and assistance;

-- Focus U.S. development resources on a sector basis; and--

reduce the size and complexity of the AID structure."[21]

The decade of the 1960's had built its program strategies on strengthening institutions--rather than merely transferring technical "know-how." However, they tended to be institutions in the educational sector, health delivery institutions, or institutions focused on agricultural productivity. There was only a beginning of concern with the inter-relationships among the functional components of the rural social system.

However, by 1970 there had been some outstanding examples of rural development acquisition systems on small projects here and there, and an increasing attention to the necessity of organizing rural people so that they would systematically manage the local end of the linkage with the urban centers. The Thana Training and Development Center in Comilla in what is now Bangladesh was one of the outstanding examples that became a model for many other places. The Farmers' Associations in Taiwan served a similar role, and became the model for reorganization of rural development stimulation efforts in places like Malaysia. Here, a rural development stimulation system which had been basically an organization of outsiders, trying to "deliver" assistance to rural people was systematically mixed with and folded into cooperatives. These were organized on a local basis to handle inputs on the supply side, the outputs on the marketing side, as well as the flow of new technology from research through education components to production.

Thus, by the early 1970's the assumptions had changed dramatically. No longer did the U.S. international assistance agency assume that Americans had the answers to the problems of other parts of the world. The myth of "know-how" had been questioned. There had been an increase in support for

research to compare the way in which innovations in agricultural technology were diffused in rural social systems in different parts of the world; research on the process of institution building and on the process of technical assistance methodology; as well as the traditional research on agricultural production and marketing themselves.

With respect to the latter, during the sixties and especially by 1970, increasing proportions of the total U.S. investment in rural development for Asia were channeled through the international agricultural research organizations. Following the heavy support for the International Rice Research Institute in the Philippines and the maize and wheat research program in Mexico, extensive investments were made in similar agricultural research units to focus on arid agriculture, on tropical vegetable production, and on other areas where there seemed to be gaps in technical knowledge.

Accompanying this, the 70's can be labeled the Age of the Integrated Approach. For one thing the international assistance agencies began to act much more as equal partners with colleagues abroad. There was emphasis on getting beyond the international enclave of third culture--and programs of various kinds were designed to promote interaction between international enclaves in any particular country and the rural people of that country. In 1970, a task force appointed by the President of the United States and chaired by Rudolph A. Peterson, reported that: "International development assistance serves long-term U.S. national interests. These interests should be redefined and brought into sharper focus...In the past, the line of demarcation between security and development interests was blurred. The United States faced a divided world, in which foreign assistance, was justified in terms of the conflict between East and West. Today all

countries have a common interest in building and maintaining a global environment in which each can prosper."[22]

The Agency for International Development, in its introduction to its program presentation to the Congress for the fiscal year 1971 program stated that, "AID's top priority is to help developing countries increase food production and reduce population growth. As a result of efforts by the less-developed countries, assisted by the United States and other wealthy nations, recent predictions of wide-spread famine by 1980 are giving way to cautious optimism in the face of two crucial developments:

-- Gains in grain production in the developing nations are outrunning the rate of population growth...

-- The threat of runaway population growth is stimulating counties to take action to limit births."

But that optimism was followed by: "Underpinning the agricultural revolution are new relationships and institutions which AID is supporting.

"--With increased demand for chemical fertilizer, new industries to produce and distribute it have come into being.

"--To get food from the farmers to consumers, processing, storage and transportation facilities are being developed.

"--Increasing demand for farm credit has stimulated leading institutions.

"--The new agriculture has required the training of extension workers at institutes AID has helped establish.

"--Ministries of Agriculture charged with coordinating and speeding up the growth of the new agriculture are being streamlined."[23]

In their book, Development Reconsidered, Edgar Owens and Robert Shaw

point out that, "The success of the modernizing societies examined in this book has lain in their ability to start from where their people are, to create organizations and technologies that give the majority of their people more control over their destinies, and to do this within the boundaries of their own culture and tradition." They went on to state that, "The period of the mechanical transfer of North American and European techniques and solutions is almost certainly coming to an end."

They also suggest that "The first and most important change should be a shift away from 'technical' and simplistic solutions--like more trained manpower, more factories, more money approach of the past two decades. Instead, the planning of development programs should emphasize regional and especially local institutions and systems through which the people would be able to do the following:

1. Gain access to the economic and social system of their country
2. Learn how to use modern technology in their individual occupations and lives
3. Work in groups, such as their local government and their farmers' organizations, to solve the problems of their local community
4. Be linked to higher levels of the economy and the society."

They urge a major change, "the planning of development programs would be based on the assumption that the poor are both willing and able to pay the cost of their own improvement."

They also urged, "Much of the investment would be smaller in scale and on a simpler level of technology," and, "the type of economic analysis used in planning developing programs would be different--and would add a focus on 'job creation, income distribution, the relative cost of capital labor,

the influence of these on the pattern of savings and investment by small producers.'" In addition, they recommend, "Economists should analyze development from the bottom up as well as from the top down."[24]

In addition to the focus on integrated approaches, the role of research with regard to rural development gained in emphasis through the decade of the 1970's. For example, the U.S. National Academy of Sciences had established a committee on African Agricultural Research Capability. Their report, in 1974, states "The Committee recommends that all efforts be made to bring natural and social scientists to work closely together in conducting research that will help national decision makers predict the consequences of alternative courses of action in determining priorities in agricultural development." They also suggest that, "Toward these ends, the committee recommends that, in technical and related socio-economic areas the priorities for strengthening research capabilities be in the areas of farming systems, food crops, and livestock improvement in that order."[25]

Thus program strategies for the U.S. during the 1970's could be characterized by attempts to deal with integration of rural development efforts, support of local institutions, and increasing emphasis on research.

The U.S. Agency for International Development established a Working Group for the Rural Poor in the mid-1970's and completely reoriented its approach. That group, for example, in a draft paper on an approach to regional planning for rural development state that: "Whereas the subsistence farmer is almost totally independent of the outside world, the scientific farmer is almost totally dependent upon the outside." This is consistent with the analytic framework presented above which suggests that interaction with the outside system is characteristic of rural social system which is increasing its energy use and increasing its extent of specialization.

The report went on to say that "Rural development can be considered to

be the expansion of creative linkages between farm, village and urban centers..."

In the 1973 Foreign Assistance Act, the Agency for International Development was instructed to "focus on critical problems--which affect the lives of the majority of the people in developing countries," and to "give the highest priority to undertakings submitted by host governments which directly improve the lives of the poorest of their people." The House Foreign Affairs Committee stated: "We are learning that if the poorest majority can participate in development by having productive work and access to basic education, health care and adequate diets, then increased growth and social justice can go hand in hand."[26]

Thus, the changing assumptions of the late 1970's were reflected by the U.S. Agency for International Development.

That same airgram went on to state: "In the process of developing a strategy that would embody these principles, we are beginning to develop, with your assistance, some general conclusions which should be considered as we fashion our program for 1976 and beyond:

-- In the agriculture sector, there are two primary objectives: increased agricultural production (both higher yields and greater nutritive value) to assure adequate food supplies and assistance to the rural poor.

-- Growth and equity as objectives can and should be pursued concurrently because:

(1) small farmer (who makes up by far the largest component of the rural poor in most LDCs) plays a strategic role in increasing food output and has demonstrated his ability to achieve high yields under suitable conditions, partly because he tends to apply more labor per unit of land than larger farmers; and,

(2) experience from around the world shows that for a variety of political and economic reasons, the 'trickle down' strategy of concentrating on large farmers for production gains and solving income distribution and employment problems by redistributing the benefits to the rural poor through taxes and government services, almost never succeeds in dealing satisfactorily with income distribution and equity problems. However, taxes and government services can be a useful part of broader strategies for pursuing equity and output goals concurrently.

-- Large segments of the rural poor are either landless or hold farms too small to produce even a subsistence level existence; rapidly growing populations exacerbate this problem; increased employment opportunities must be found for these people and other measures taken; e.g., the spread of low-cost health/family planning delivery systems or opportunities for education, to enhance the quality of life for all the rural poor.

-- Neither small farmers nor the remainder of the rural poor make up a single homogenous group in a given country; successful rural development programs must begin from an understanding of which major groups make up the rural poor, their main problems, and the constraints on and the possibilities for helping them.

-- Experience has taught us that rural population should be involved in both the planning and the execution of agriuclture and rural development programs if these programs are to be effective and have lasting impact."[27]

In a summary report from the AID Working Group on Rural Poor, it is stated: "Rural development is an evolving concept. It is presently understood to include not only elements which have long characterized agricultural sector projects and programs (such as increasing food production through credit, improved technology, and market rationalization) but also a new emphasis on equity considerations and more effective overall integration of functions and activities which make up the 'agricultural sector.'

The new emphasis is expressed through factors such as an increased concern with the location of market towns and access roads, the suitability of new technology to the needs and capacities of beneficiaries, the quality of linkages between the individual beneficiary and the agencies which assist him, the generation of non-agriculture jobs in rural areas, and so forth. There is a renewed emphasis on organizations in and through which the people may participate in the development process. Within this larger concept, education, nutrition, health, and family planning remain relevant and important as both means and ends of rural development."[28]

In addition to this shift in doctrine, encompassing the type of systems approach described in the analytical framework above, the U.S. AID agency saw its own role as changing by the middle of the 1970's. In another working paper, the AID group concerned with the rural poor spoke of a new "collaborative style" for the Agency. It said, in part, "Therefore, the AID approach to rural development assumes dialogue, not prescription."[29]

And these changes in assumptions and doctrine are reflected in program strategies for the 1970's --particularly the latter half of the 1970's-- which:

"--Develop and disseminate technologies to provide the small farmer with more productive and nutritious crops which he can grow profitably;

"--Support and strengthen economic policy packages which assist the small farmer, such as greater reliance on price incentives;

"--Reform land ownership and strengthen security of tenure;

"--Broaden and assure small farmer access to improved technology, needed inputs, information, financing and markets;

"--Strengthen and extend the organizations for the delivery and receipt of these goods and services;

"--Create supporting physical infra-structure."[30]

F. Linkage Maintenance in the 1980's

Of course the future is unknown to the writer of this paper. However, as the assumptions, the doctrine, and the program strategies have seemed to be changing through the five ages of U.S. assistance to rural development throughout the world--and particularly in Asia--one might predict that the 1980's will be characterized by a special effort to maintain the linkages.

These include the linkages between Americans and Asians in a professional way as it relates to rural development; the linkages between professional agriculturalists in Asian countries and professional agriculturalists in the United States; the linkages between the rural people of any country and those in the urban centers of that country; the linkages between farmers and the agricultural research organizations of their own country; the linkages between agricultural research organizations in any one country and the agricultural research organizations in other countries with similar climates and eco-systems; and also the linkages between agricultural research organizations in any country and the international agricultural research organizations which seem to be growing in strength, stature and productivity.

The assumptions here rest on learning together--people from various parts of the world attacking the problems which face them all--following the concept of one global system in which everyone is linked to everyone else in a variety of ways--and with increased program emphasis on maintaining the linkages and insuring a free flow of transactions in each direction on each linkage--and building the capacity of the linkages so that the flow of transactions will be sufficient.

V. THE FUTURE

Reviewing the six ages of U.S. involvement in rural Asia, as discussed above, and considering them in light of the analytic framework for inter-system interactions as well as the analytic framework for assessing rural development, two suggestions emerge. One is in the direction of what will be labeled iterative reciprocity; the other has to do with rural renaissance.[31]

The analysis of U.S. involvement in rural Asia suggests that the superiority syndrome referred to above, and the tendency for outsiders to assume an "up-down" kind of view of their relationship with insiders has been increasingly rejected by systems with which they interact. Along with this is the frustration stemming from the extreme difficulty of inter-system understanding because of the walls of separation built around international enclaves in each system.

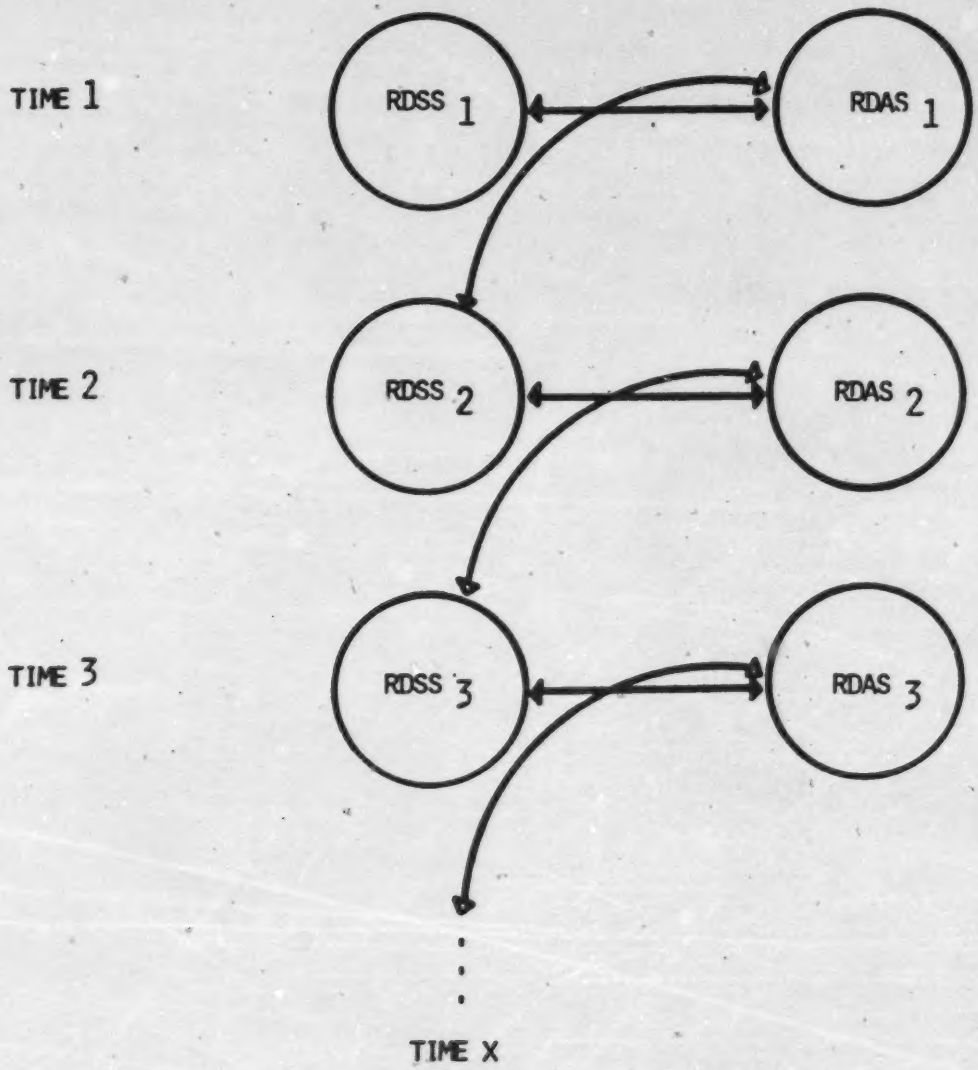
A doctrine of reciprocity may overcome these difficulties. It is increasingly evident in the examples above.

Reciprocity requires both systems in an inter-system interaction to look at the situation in terms of cost/benefit ratio. If both parties consider their cost/benefit ratio acceptable, they are less likely to suspect each other of taking unfair advantage. Even when it appears that one system is clearly the "donor" and the other clearly the "recipient," as in a typical education assistance program in an effort to meet national manpower needs, there is always reciprocity. Where there is recognized reciprocity, the superiority syndrome will tend to be minimized.

Inter-system interactions governed by a doctrine of reciprocity are still subject to problems of inter-system understanding. As illustrated in Figure VII (Iterative Reciprocity) when a rural development acquisition

FIGURE VII

ITERATIVE RECIPROCITY
BETWEEN A
RURAL DEVELOPMENT ACQUISITION SYSTEM (RDAS)
AND A
RURAL DEVELOPMENT STIMULATION SYSTEM (RDSS)



system (RDAS) interacts with a rural development stimulation system (RDSS), the interaction has an effect on both systems. Next time the RDAS is slightly different from what it was the first time, as is the RDSS. Thus as time goes by, the RDAS changes and the RDSS changes. Among the changes in both sides should be increased inter-system understanding. Iterative (or repeating) transactions between any two systems may lead to better understanding and communication, and thus the greater chance that the substance of these transactions will be appropriate in light of the needs and the interests of humanity within the two systems.

The above suggests a pattern of iterative reciprocity. That is, two systems interact on the basis of equality. Each expects the interaction to cost something and each expects to gain something from it. Over time, the iterative interactions continuously modify the nature of both systems and the interaction between them. The more iterations, the more appropriate the transactions are likely to be for both systems. Reciprocity in value suggests continuous growth in benefit to each participant and continuous reduction in the cost.

In this sense, reciprocity does not require exact exchange of goods or ideas that have equal value in some inter-system marketplace. For example, food grains may be exchanged for more raw metals. So long as there is some benefit, there can be reciprocity. To the extent that the two systems can build enduring linkages between themselves, iterative reciprocity may be more appropriate in the future than "international assistance," for and on behalf of either system.

Turning to rural development, and viewing the development cycle as illustrated above, a somewhat different perspective on change emerges.

Analysis of the experience with such efforts as the Comilla projects in Bangladesh, the Joint Commission for Rural Reconstruction in Taiwan, the Panchayati Raj in India, the recent approaches in the People's Republic of China, the conclusion emerges that perhaps rural development cannot be delivered from outside.

If the path to a better life be change which is preferred by rural people to their present situation, then recent world experience suggests that it must be born from within any particular rural social system, controlled by its beneficiaries, and integrated into the larger system of which it is a part. This path may be labeled rural renaissance.

Rural renaissance is a perspective and a process. As a perspective, it gives priority to the view from the farming family on the land. As a process, it draws initiative and energy from the same rural family.

Renaissance refers to a new birth or revival. To go through renaissance is to go through "a period of vigorous artistic and intellectual activity."[32]

From this perspective, renaissance may be defined as a marriage of traditional values, norms, behavior patterns, and technology with innovative values, norms, technology, and behavior patterns, resulting in the birth of changed behavior patterns, technology, norms, and values. With this conceptualization, rural renaissance cannot be delivered from outside. It is not something that can be injected like an antibiotic into an infected person. It has to be born from within any particular rural social system. In that sense, it is indigenous--it is the child of its older parent.

Thus in the future, perhaps we should look to iterative reciprocity--between the rural social systems of Asia and the governments of each country--as well as between each nation/state and the other nation/states--

and between countries outside of Asia and those inside of Asia. This kind of iterative reciprocity--if carried on in the spirit of costs and benefits being shared by both partners at each level--could lead to a rural renaissance. Rural renaissance emerges as the basis for the rationnal of inter-system interaction at many levels--international, rural-urban, between agencies and organizations like Ministries of government or universities, and the rural people whom they serve.

Thus perhaps the lesson of all of this experience is that through appropriate iterative reciprocity a rural renaissance can emerge.

FOOTNOTES

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26. U.S. Department of State Airgram, 82 Circular A448, sent from Washington 6/22/74 (unclassified).

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30. AID/To Circular A448, p. 5 of 23.

31. For a more complete exposition of this perspective, see George H. Axinn, Rural Renaissance - A Perspective and a Process, paper presented at the Third International Conference of East/West Communication Institute on Integrated Communication for Rural Development, December 2-6, 1974, Honolulu.

32. Webster's Seventh New Collegiate Dictionary, Springfield: GNC Miriam Company, 1971, p. 724. The English word "Renaissance" comes from the French Renaistre, which translates as, "To be born again," which is exactly the sense in which the author uses it here.